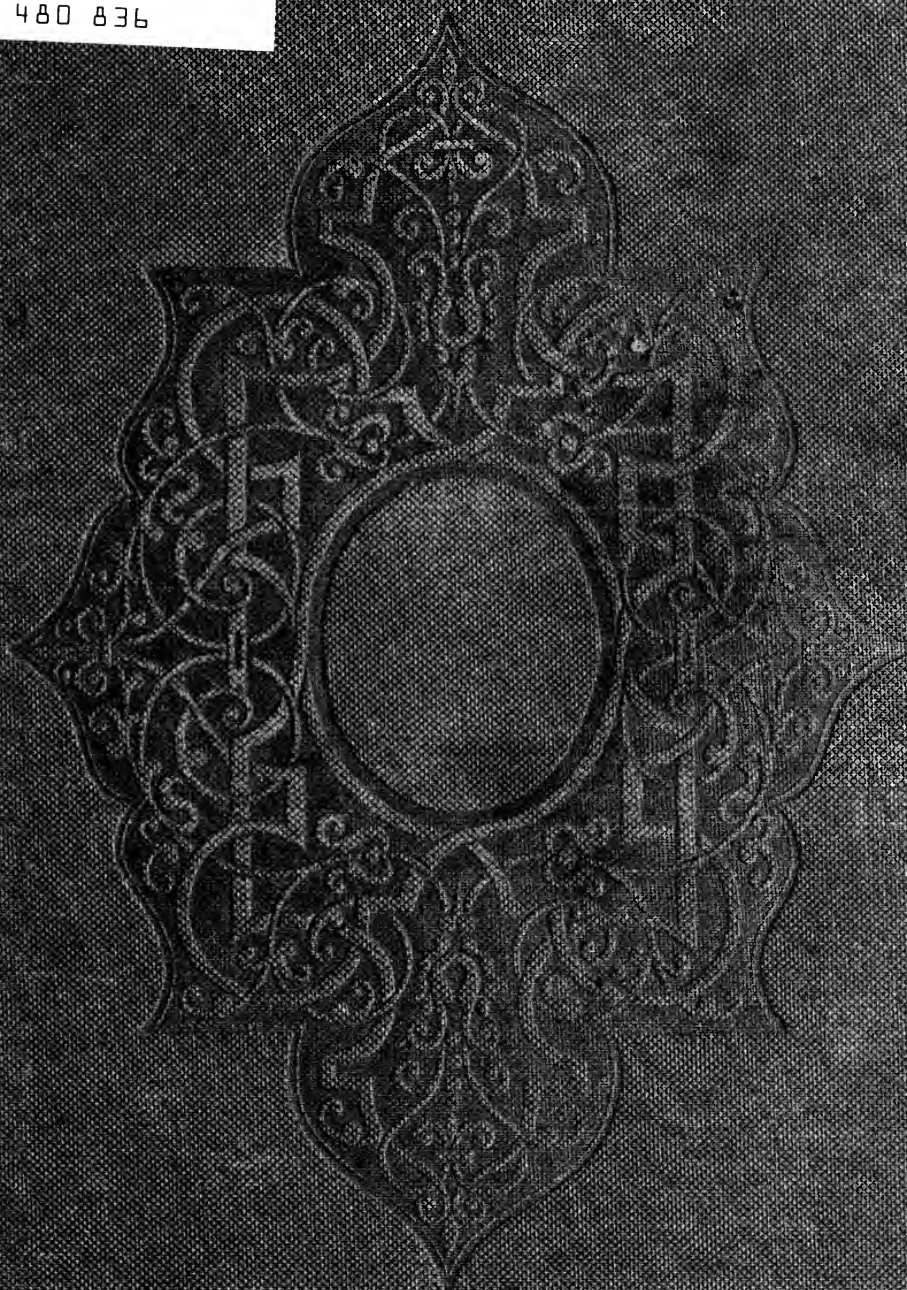



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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE LETTERS
OF
POPE TO ATTERBURY
WHEN
IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

EDITED BY
JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LIX.

THE first and second Letters of Pope, which are here printed (pp. 7 and 14) are copied on a sheet of paper in the collection of George Wentworth, esq. of Woolley Park, Yorkshire, by whom they were kindly communicated, at the suggestion of Dr. Sykes of Doncaster. That transcript is evidently contemporary. Correspondent copies of the same letters have since been found in Cole's MSS. at the British Museum, MS. Addit. 5822, fol. 105. They were derived by Mr. Cole from the papers of the Rev. Dr. Williams of St. John's college, Cambridge: and Cole has appended the following note: "It may be those Letters might have been communicated by the Bishop of Rochester to Dean Moss, with whom he was in a particular degree of friendship and correspondence at this time, as is evident from some letters in vol. 30 [of Cole's MSS.] p. 150; who might communicate them to Dr. Grey or Dr. Williams."

ATTERBURY IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour!

How shin'd the soul, unconquered in the Tower!—POPE.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester, was a man whose brilliant talents, and ready application of them, stood him in the stead of profound learning and of political integrity, for both of which he acquired an unmerited reputation. This, as was natural, was especially the case with those who were his intimate and partial friends, and whose own sentiments and sympathies had a similar bias in matters of politics and religion. Even towards such associates he behaved with so much art and duplicity,^a that they had no suspicion of the traitorous correspondence in which he had engaged, and appear to have really deemed him guiltless upon the charges which led to his exile.

Among the most ardent and devoted of Atterbury's admirers was the poet Pope, who, in a letter^b to Gay, dated on the 11th Sept. 1722, writes:

“Pray tell Dr. Arbuthnot that even pigeon-pyes and hog's-

^a If any reader should still think this term too harsh, let him say how otherwise the following passage can be characterised: “To be quiet, and live to myself, with the few, the very few, friends I like, is the point, the single point, I now aim at; though I know the generality of the world, who are unacquainted with my intentions and views, think the very reverse of this character belongs to me.” *Letter to Pope*, April 6, 1722, written by Atterbury just one week before his letter or message to the Earl of Mar, in which we intimated the resumption of correspondence with “Mr. Hacket” (*i. e.* the Earl of Oxford,) as a step of no small consequence to the Pretender's service. See *The Stuart Papers*, 1847, i. 65

^b There are two letters of Pope to Gay which bear the date of the 11th Sept. 1722. That which is printed in the edition of 1737, as Letter CLIII. at p. 248, commencing,

puddings are thought dangerous by our governours; for those that have been sent to the Bishop of Rochester are open'd and prophanely pry'd into at the Tower. 'Tis the first time that dead pigeons have been suspected of carrying intelligence. To be serious,—you, and Mr. Congreve, (nay, and the Doctor if he has not dined,) will be sensible of my concern and surprize at the commitment of that Gentleman, whose welfare is as much my concern as any friend's I have. I think my self a most unfortunate wretch. I no sooner love, and, upon knowledge, fix my esteem to any man, but he either dies like Mr. Craggs,^a or is sent to imprisonment like the Bishop. God send him as well as I wish him, manifest him to be as innocent as I believe him, and make all his enemies know him as well as I do, that they may love him and think of him as well! If you apprehend this period to be of any danger in being address'd to you, tell Mr. Congreve or the Doctor it is writ to them."

And in another letter, written to Swift, on the 12th Jan. 1723-4:

"It is sure my ill fate that all those I most loved, and with whom I most lived, must be banished. After both of you [that is, Swift and Bolingbroke] left England, my constant Host was the Bishop of Rochester."

In one of Pope's Letters to a Lady, dated the 2d of June 1723, he writes, "I am at present in the afflicting circumstance of taking my last leave of one of the truest friends I ever had, and one of the greatest men in all polite learning, as well as the most

"I think it obliging," had been originally published in the 8vo. of 1735, (vol. i. p. 201,) without a date. The other, which is that here quoted, commencing, "I thank you," is the one really written on the 11th Sept. 1722, which date it bears in the 8vo. It has there some passages relative to the Duchess "of M.," and "ladies in and about Richmond," the Mrs. Blounts, Mrs. Pulteney, and Dr. Arbuthnot, which are not preserved in the edition of 1737, and have never been restored since. Among the other alterations, in the passages above quoted the expression "the Doctor *if he has not dined*," and the words "they may *love him* and think of him as well," are suppressed.

^a The Right Hon. James, Craggs, Secretary of State, died Feb. 16, 1720; and Pope wrote the poetical epitaph placed on his monument in Westminster Abbey.



agreeable companion, this nation ever had. . . . So that indeed I want comfort."

Again, in one of his letters to Edward Blount, esquire, dated on the 27th June, 1723, Pope wrote as follows:

"Life's vain Amusements, amidst which we dwell,
Not weigh'd or understood by the grim God of Hell !

said a heathen poet, as he is translated by a Christian Bishop, who has, first by his exhortations, and since by his example, taught me to *think* as becomes a reasonable creature.^a But he is gone! He carry'd away more learning than is left in this nation behind him: but he left us more in the noble example of bearing calamity well. 'Tis true we want literature very much; but pray God we don't want patience more if these precedents are to prevail."^b

Atterbury was arrested on the 24th of August, 1722, at his deanery of Westminster; examined before the privy council, and committed to the Tower. On the 11th of March following, a Resolution passed the House of Commons,

"That Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable conspiracy for invading these kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising insurrections and a rebellion at home, in order to subvert the present happy establishment in Church and State, by placing a popish Pretender upon the Throne."

This Resolution was followed by a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which, on the 9th of April, 1723, was sent to the House of Lords for

^a "Atterbury," says Dr. Johnson, "had honestly recommended to him the study of the Popish controversy, in hope of his conversion; to which Pope answered in a manner that cannot much recommend his principles, or his judgment. [See his Letter to Atterbury, dated Nov. 20, 1717.] In questions and projects of learning they agreed much better. . . . At their last interview at the Tower, Atterbury presented him with a Bible." (See hereafter, p. 16.)

^b The four last lines were not printed with the letter when Pope first gave it to the world, in 1737.

their concurrence. On the following day the Bishop addressed the following letter ^a to his friend Pope:

“DEAR SIR,

The Tower, April 10, 1723.

“I thank you for all the instances of your friendship, both before and since my misfortunes. A little time will compleat them, and separate you and me for ever. But in what part of the world soever I am, I will live mindful of your sincere kindness to me, and will please myself with the thought that I still live in your esteem and affection as much as ever I did, and that no accidents of life, no distance of time or place, will alter you in that respect. It never can me; who have lov'd and valu'd you ever since I knew you, and shall not fail to do it when I am not allow'd to tell you so,—as the case will soon be. Give my faithful services to Dr. Arbuthnot, and thanks for what he sent me; which was much to the purpose, if anything can be said to be to the purpose in a case that is already determin'd. Let him know my Defence will be such, that neither my friends need blush for me, nor will my enemies have great occasion for Triumph, tho' sure of the Victory. I shall want his advice before I go abroad, in many things. But I question whether I shall be permitted to see him, or any body, but such as are absolutely necessary towards the dispatch of my private affairs.^b If so, God bless you both! and may no part of the ill fortune that attends me ever pursue either of you! I know not but I may call upon you at my hearing, to say something about my way of spending my time at the Deanery, which did not seem calculated towards managing Plots and conspiracies. But of that I shall consider.—You and I have spent many hours together upon much pleasanter subjects; and, that I may preserve the old custom, I shall

^a Published by Pope with his own letters, in 1737.

^b The Bishop's confinement was extremely rigorous. “Even his son-in-law Mr. Morice was not permitted to speak to him in any nearer mode than standing in an area, whilst the Bishop looked out of a two pair of stairs window.” Advertisement to Atterbury's Correspondence, 1783.

not part with you now till I have clos'd this letter with three lines of Milton, which you will (I know) readily and not without some degree of concern apply to,—Your ever affectionate, &c.

*"Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them soon :
The world was all before him, where to choose
His place of rest, and PROVIDENCE HIS GUIDE."*

It was in answer to this letter that Pope composed the following very studied Epistle, which is now printed from the transcripts already mentioned in the introductory Advertisement. When published by its writer (some fourteen years after), its elaborate diction was still further polished, as if it had been a favourite poem.^a

"Mr. Pope to the Bishop of Rochester, before the Bill pass'd.

"MY LORD,—It is not possible to express w^t I think and w^t I feel, only this, that I have thought and felt for nothing but YOU for some time past, and shall think of nothing so long for the time to come. The greatest comfort I had, was an intention (w^{ch} I wou'd have made practicable) to have attended You in Your JOURNEY, to w^{ch} I had brought the person^b to consent, who only cou'd have hindred me, by a tye, which, tho' it may be more tender, I do not think can be more strong than that of FRIENDSHIP: but now I find

^a In order to shew these variations completely, the whole letter is added below from Pope's Letters (as first edited by himself) in quarto, 1737.

^b Here Pope alludes to his mother.

"April 20, 1723.

"It is not possible to express what I think, and what I feel; only this, that I have thought and felt for nothing but you, for some time past: and shall think of nothing so long for the time to come. The greatest comfort I had was an intention (which I would have made practicable) to have attended you in your journey, to which I had brought that person to consent, who only could have hindered me, by a tye which, tho' it may be more tender; I do not think more strong, than that of friendship. But I fear there will be no way left me to tell

that malice, w^{ch} cou'd no more be foreseen than one cou'd think it cou'd be contriv'd by any human Creature, has render'd every friendly way, every grateful thought towards you impracticable: I fear there will be no way left me to tell You this great truth, that I remember You, that I love You, that I entirely esteem and value You, but one, w^{ch} I will find, even tho' it were death to correspond with you; a way w^{ch} no bills can preclude, a way w^{ch} may reach to any part of the world where you may be, when the very whisper or even wish of a Friend must not be heard, or even suspected: By this I dare tell my Esteem and Affection for you to the enemies in the Gates, and their sons shall hear it.

“ You prove yourself, My Lord, to know me for the zealous Friend I am, in judging that your manner of Defence, and Glory in it, is a point of the highest Concern to me, & assuring y^t it will be, it shall be such, that none of Your friends shall blush for you. Let me farther prompt You, to do Your self the best, the lasting JUSTICE; the establishing your fame to POSTERITY will be in your own hands: May it not be that Providence has appointed You to some great and usefull work, and calls You to it this severe way? You more eminently and more effectually serve the publick,

you this great truth, that I remember you, that I love you, that I am grateful to you, that I entirely esteem and value you: no way but that one, which needs no open warrant to authorize it, or secret conveyance to secure it; which no bills can preclude, and no Kings prevent; a way that can reach to any part of the world where you may be, where the very whisper, or even the wish of a friend must not be heard or even suspected. By this way I dare tell my esteem and affection of you to your enemies in the gates; and you, and they, and their sons may hear of it.

“ You prove your self, my lord, to know me for the friend I am; in judging that the manner of your Defence, and your Reputation by it, is a point of the highest concern to me: and assuring me it shall be such, that none of your friends shall blush for you. Let me further prompt you to do your self the best and most lasting justice. The instruments of your Fame to posterity will be in your own hands. May it not be, that Providence has appointed you to some great and useful work, and calls you to it this severe way? You may more

even now, than in the Stations You have so honourably fill'd:— Think of Tully, Bacon, & Clarendon.^a Is not the latter, the most Disgrac'd part of their lives, what You envy, and what You must chuse to have lived?

“ I am tenderly sensible of the wish You express, that no part of [your] misfortune may pursue me; But God knows how short a time we may be suffer'd, or we may be desirous to be suffer'd, to live in this Country; I am every day less and less fond of it, and begin seriously to consider a Friend in Exile a Friend in Death, one gone before, where I am not unwilling or unprepar'd to follow after; and where, however various or uncertain the road may be, I cannot but entertain a pleasing hope, that we may meet again.

“ This I faithfully assure you, that in the mean time there is no one living or dead, of whom I shall think oftner or better than of You. I shall look upon You as in a state between both, in w^{ch}

^a Upon this passage it was remarked by Bishop Warburton. “ Clarendon indeed wrote his best works in his banishment; but the best of Bacon's were written before his disgrace, and the best of Tully's after his return from exile.”

eminently and more effectually serve the publick even now, than in the stations you have so honourably fill'd. Think of Tully, Bacon, and Clarendon. Is it not the latter, the disgrac'd part of their lives, which you most envy, and which you would choose to have liv'd?

“ I am tenderly sensible of the wish you express, that no part of your misfortune may pursue me. But God knows I am every day less and less fond of my native country, (so torn as it is by Party-rage,) and begin to consider a friend in exile as a friend in death, one gone before, where I am not unwilling nor unprepared to follow after; and where (however various or uncertain the roads and voyages of another world may be,) I cannot but entertain a pleasing hope that we may meet again.

“ I faithfully assure you, that in the mean time there is no one, living or dead, of whom I shall think oftner or better than of you. I shall look upon you as in a state between both, in which you will have from me all the passions and

You have from me all the passions, all the warm wishes that can attend the living; and all the respects and tender sense of the loss that we feel for the dead; and shall always depend upon that friendship, kind memory, and good offices, altho' I never were to hear nor see the effects of them; like the trust we have in benevolent spirits who, tho' we never hear nor see them, [we] ever think to be constantly serving & praying for us.

"Whenever I am willing to write to you, I shall conclude that You are intentionally doing so to me, and every time I think of You, I will believe You are thinking of me; and I shall never suffer to be forgotten, nay to be but faintly remember'd the Honour, the Pleasure, the Pride I must ever have in reflecting, how frequently You have delighted me, how kindly You have distinguished me, how cordially You have advis'd me in Conversation and Study, in w^{ch} I shall always want You and wish for You: In my most lively, in my most thoughtfull hours I shall equally bear about me the Impressions of you; and perhaps it will not be in this life only that I shall have cause to remember the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

warm wishes that can attend the living, and all the respect and tender sense of loss that we feel for the dead. And I shall ever depend upon your constant friendship, kind memory, and good offices, tho' I were never to see or hear the effects of them; like the trust we have in benevolent Spirits, who, tho' we never see or hear them, we think are constantly serving us, and praying for us.

"Whenever I am wishing to write to you I shall conclude you are intentionally doing so to me: and every time that I think of you I will believe you are thinking of me. I never shall suffer to be forgotten (nay, to be but faintly remember'd) the honour, the pleasure, the pride I must ever have in reflecting how frequently you have delighted me, how kindly you have distinguish'd me, how cordially you have advis'd me! In conversation, in study, I shall always want you, and wish for you; in my most lively and in my most thoughtful hours I shall equally bear about me the impressions of you; and perhaps it will not be in This life only that I shall have cause to remember and acknowledge the Friendship of the Bishop of Rochester.

"I am, &c."

“Be assur’d that I wish for an occasion of publickly bearing testimony of the truth in your behalf, and shall be glad to be call’d upon, and so wou’d Your friend you mention.^a Wou’d to God we cou’d act for You, but if not that, at least let us appear for You.

“I am, my Lord, &c.”

The House of Commons went into a grand committee upon the Bill “For inflicting certain pains and penalties upon Francis lord bishop of Rochester,” upon the 6th of April, 1723; and when it came to the filling up the blank for pains and penalties it was moved by its promoters that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, be banished the Kingdom, be guilty of Felony if he returned, and that it should not be in the King’s power to pardon him without consent of Parliament. After some debate, the question was carried without a division; and three days after the Bill was passed, and sent up to the House of Lords.

The Bishop, who had declined to enter upon his defence before the Commons, was on the 6th of May brought before his peers, attended by his counsel, Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Sergeant Wynne; and he was again brought to the bar on the five following days. It was on the 10th of May that his friend Pope appeared as one of the witnesses in his favour, with the object mentioned in the preceding letters. The report of the trial does not detail the poet’s evidence. His appearance is briefly noticed as follows: “The Bishop mentioned certain avocations which took up his time, and offered to bring proof thereof, if the House should think proper. But the same not being thought material, his Lordship called Mr. Pope, to give an account how he employed his time, and where he used constantly to find his Lordship when he visited him; and, in regard of the great intimacy there was between them, Whether he suspected

^a Dr. Arbuthnot. The whole of this last passage of the letter has not been before published.

the Bishop was engaged in such matters as were laid to his charge? And he was examined upon oath." At this tantalising point with respect to Pope's testimony, the reporter says no more;^a but the poet's own account of the incident is thus related by his friend Spence:

"I never could speak in public; and I do'nt believe that, if it was a set thing, I could give an account of any story to twelve friends together, though I could tell it to any three of them with a great deal of pleasure. When I was to appear for the Bishop of Rochester, in his trial, though I had but ten words to say, and that on a plain point, —how that Bishop spent his time whilst I was with him at Bromley, I made two or three blunders in it, and that notwithstanding the first row of Lords, which was all I could see, were mostly of my acquaintance."^b

The substance, however, of what Pope actually said is given by the Bishop's counsel, serjeant Wynne, in the following terms: "We have likewise shewn your lordships by Mr. Pope, who has been for these two or three last years the most constant companion of his Lordship's hours,—two or three days, he says, almost in every week, and an hour or two almost in every of those days,—that his Lordship generally sat in one room, which I think was his bedchamber; that he was admitted to him at all hours, and into all companies, and never found the discourse change at his coming in; that his Lordship never in the least discovered any thoughts or intentions like those now charged upon him; but [that he] had heard occasionally many things drop from the Bishop of a tendency directly contrary."^c

Upon this statement Mr. Reeve, one of the counsel for the Bill, made the following remarks in reply:

"My Lords, another evidence is Mr. Pope, a gentleman of learn-

^a State Trials, edit. Howell, 1812, vol. xvi. col. 572.

^b Spence's Anecdotes, edit. Singer, p. 156.

^c Howell's State Trials, 8vo. 1812, vol. xvi. col. 584.

ing, with whom my Lord Bishop of Rochester used to converse; and he gives you an account that he knew nothing of this conspiracy, that the Bishop never opened his mouth to him about it, nor acquainted him with it, that he was frequently with him, and their discourse was only about matters of literature. No doubt my Lord Bishop hath conversed with persons on different subjects, to whom he would communicate nothing of an affair of this nature."

On the 11th of May, the Bishop himself, his counsel having been previously heard, delivered a long and able speech ^a in his own defence; after which he was remanded to the Tower. The Bill, depriving him of his ecclesiastical dignities, and sentencing him to perpetual banishment, passed the Lords on the 16th of May, by a majority of 83 to 43, and received the royal assent on the 27th of

^a Pope remarked to Spence, "The Bishop of Rochester's speech, as it is printed, could not be as he spoke it. I was there all the while. Both the Bishop and myself minded the time, when he began, and when he left off. He was two hours in speaking it, and as it is printed you can't well be above an hour reading it.—'Was there not an Act of Parliament read in the midst of it?'—No, I don't remember that there was: but he was indulged to sit down for two or three minutes to rest himself a little between the speaking." The speech was printed from a short-hand copy made for the use of Mr. Wearg, one of the King's counsel, soon after made solicitor-general for his exertions on this occasion. (Note in Spence's Anecdotes, p. 157.) With that edition the speech as printed in the State Trials corresponds: but among the Bishop's papers were found two MS. copies so far different, that Mr. Nichols printed both of them in his Atterbury Correspondence, one in vol. iv. p. 383 (edit. 1783), and the other in vol. v. p. 365, the latter being in the Bishop's own handwriting, and supposed to contain his latest corrections.

The following advertisement, dated June 22, 1723, is from *The True Briton* of that time, and was inserted by Jonah Bowyer, who was the publisher of Atterbury's Sermons: "Whereas there is this Day published, A Pamphlet, Intituled, The Speech (&c.). Printed for A. Moore, near S. Paul's, This is to give Notice, that the same is *surreptitiously* printed, without the Knowledge or Consent of the Bishop, or any of his Friends; and besides that it is *spurious*, it is very *imperfect*: several intire Paragraphs being omitted, and many others vilely mangled; as any Person that heard his Lordship speak, will readily observe. But the Publick may, in due Time, expect an Authentick and Correct Copy of his Lordship's Speech, and of the Proceedings against him." Notwithstanding the estimation in which this Defence has been generally held for eloquence and pathos, it disappointed Mr. Hallam, who remarked, "Atterbury's own speech is certainly below his fame, especially his peroration." (Constitutional History of England, iii. 337.)

the same month. On the 18th of June he was carried in a chair from his apartment in the Tower to the barge which conveyed him to the ship appointed to transport him to the continent.

Pope was an auditor of the Bishop's Defence, and the second Letter, which will now be placed before the reader, was evidently written immediately after. It is entitled in the MS. *Mr. Pope's Letter after the Bill pass'd*; which was on the 16th of May. It was suppressed by its writer when he published the first and third Letters of this series in the quarto volume which first made his letters public with his own avowed sanction, in the year 1737. It has not been ascertained that any of these letters had been published before that time; but the second—that now placed before the reader—appeared in the second volume of Atterbury's Correspondence, collected by Mr. Nichols in the year 1783, (p. 271,) but from what source derived is not there stated:^a

“ Mr. Pope's Letter after the Bill pass'd.

“ MY LORD—While Yet I can write to You, I must and will correspond wth You, till the moment it be Felony;^b and when I can no longer to You, I will write of You. To tell You that my heart is full of your Defence, is no more than I believe the worst enemy You have must own of his. You have really without a figure had all the Triumph the ancient Eloquence^c boasts of. Their passions and consciences have done you right, tho' their votes will^d not, You have met with the fate frequent to Good and Great men, to gain applause where You are deny'd justice. Let me take the only occasion I have had in the whole series of Your misfortunes to

^a The variations from the Woolley MS. are but few. They are indicated in the following notes.

^b By the act of pains and penalties it was made felony to correspond with the Bishop after the 25th of June.

^c As published, that ancient eloquence.

^d will in MS. Cole, have in Woolley MS.

congratulate you, not You alone, but POSTERITY, on this noble Defence. I already see in what Lustre that Innocency is to appear to after ages, w^{ch} this has overbore and oppress'd; I know perfectly well, what a share of credit it will be to have appear'd on that side, or being call'd YOUR FRIEND. I am far prouder of that word you publickly spoke of me, than of any thing I have yet heard of my self in my whole life. Thanks be to God that I, a private man, concern'd in no Judicature, and Employ'd in no publick Cause, have had the honour in this great and shineing Incident, w^{ch} will make the first figure in the History of this time, to enter as it were my Protest to Your Innocency, and my Declaration of Your Friendship. Be assur'd, my Dr L^d, no time will ever efface the memory of that from my heart, shou'd I be deny'd the pleasure of expressing it evermore with my pen in this manner; but cou'd that permission be obtain'd w^{ch} You had once the extream goodness to think of asking, even of those from whom You would ask nothing I believe but what lyes very near Your heart, cou'd the permission I say of Corresponding with you be obtain'd, I do assure you I would leave^a off all other writing, and apply it wholly to You, where it wou'd please me best, and to the Amusement, or if I cou'd be so happy as to say, Comfort of Your Exile, till God and your Innocency, w^{ch} will support You in it, restore you from it, than w^{ch} there is not a sincerer or warmer prayer in the breast of,

“My Lord, your ever affectionate, &c.”

It would seem that, when this letter was written, Pope did not expect to see his friend again; but, immediately before the Bishop's departure,^b he was permitted to take a personal farewell. Of this

^a *Hitherto misprinted tear.*

^b Pope's inscription in the Bible, presently inserted, gives the date of the 17th of June : on the 18th the Bishop departed. It appears from Bishop Newton that Atterbury's friends had free access to take leave of him. He says that “After the Westminster election in 1723 was over, some of the King's scholars [of whom Newton was then Captain] thought it a proper piece of respect to wait on their late Dean in the Tower, as every body had then free admittance to see and take leave of him : and, among other things

interview some particulars—the perfect accuracy of which has been justly doubted—have been preserved from the relation of Lord Chesterfield. “I went (said his Lordship) to Mr. Pope one morning at Twickenham, and found a large folio Bible, with gilt clasps, lying before him upon his table; and, as I knew his way of thinking upon that book, I asked him, jocosely, if he was going to write an Answer to it? ‘It is a present, (said he,) or rather a legacy, from my old friend the Bishop of Rochester. I went to take my leave of him yesterday in the Tower, where I saw this Bible upon his table. After the first compliments, the Bishop said to me, ‘My friend Pope, considering your infirmities, and my age and exile, it is not likely that we should ever meet again; and therefore I give you this legacy^a to remember me by it.’”—(Maty’s *Memoirs of the Earl of Chesterfield*, prefixed to the *Miscellaneous Works of that nobleman*, 4to. 1777, vol. i. p. 279. The continuation of the passage need not be extracted, the subject of Chesterfield’s insinuation of infidelity against Atterbury having been sufficiently discussed.^b)

which he said to them, he applied to himself those lines of Milton, as he did likewise [see before, p. 7,] in a letter to Mr. Pope—

The world is all before me where to choose
My place of rest, and Providence my guide.”

(*Life and Anecdotes of Thomas Newton*, D.D. Bishop of Bristol, written by himself, and prefixed to his *Works*, 4to. 1782, vol. i. p. 14.)

^a “At parting, he presented Pope with a Bible, and said, with a disingenuousness of which no man who had studied the Bible to much purpose would have been guilty, ‘If ever you hear that I have any dealings with the Pretender, I give you leave to say that my punishment is just.’ Pope at this time really believed the Bishop to be an injured man. Arbuthnot seems to have been of the same opinion.”—(*Memoirs of Atterbury*, written by Lord Macaulay, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.) The statement here made rests on the authority of Bishop Newton, whose words are: “When he took his last leave of Mr. Pope, he told him he would allow him to say his sentence was just if he ever found he had any concerns with the Pretender’s family in his exile. But, notwithstanding this, as Bishop Warburton informs us (see Pope’s *Letters*), Mr. Pope was convinced before the Bishop’s death that during his banishment he was in the intrigues of the Pretender.” (*Newton’s Life and Anecdotes*, p. 14.)

^b Particularly in a long letter from the Rev. Samuel Badcock to Mr. Nichols, printed in *Atterbury’s Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 79; second edition, vol. ii. p. 271; and

The Bible, which formed this memorable present, is now in the possession of Lord Viscount Hawarden,* at Dundrum Castle, near Cashel, in Ireland. It is one of the edition printed at the University of Cambridge in 1674. It has, on a fly-leaf, the following inscription in the handwriting of Pope, of which Lord Hawarden has favoured me with an accurate copy:

Franciscus Episcopus Roffensis,
Vir admodum Venerandus. et Amicissimus,
Alexandro Pope Dono dedit,
Jun. 17, 1723, Anno Exilii 1^o.
Cape dona Extrema Tuorum!

The above lines were the whole of the original inscription. After Atterbury's death was added,

Obiit Vir Venerandus Lutetiis
mense Februario, Anno D'ni 1734,
Exilii 8^o, Ætatis 71^o.

And seven years later the volume was presented by Pope to his friend Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, with this insertion:—

Mar. 30, 1739.

A. Pope, Radulpho Allen, Viro de se
atque omnibus hominibus bene merito,
in Usum Sacelli sui Widcombiensis
Dedit.

A third Letter is extant, written by Pope to Atterbury at this

in the Works of Pope, edit. Warton, viii. 129, edit. Bowles, viii. 154, edit. Roscoe, vol. ix. p. 238. See also the last Life of Pope, by Mr. Robert Carruthers, (second edit. 1857, p. 213,) where it is remarked, "An anecdote has been related, on the alleged authority of Pope, tending to prove that Atterbury himself was nearly all his life a sceptic. This is incredible. He was aspiring, turbulent, and faithless as a politician, and not without dissimulation and hypocrisy in private life; but his whole career, his published writings, and correspondence, are opposed to the idea that he disbelieved the faith he preached and professed."

* Mary Allen, the niece of Ralph, was the second wife of Cornwallis first Viscount Hawarden, the grandfather of the present Viscount.

period. This is not in the Woolley manuscript, but was published by its writer in 1737, at which time he gave it the date of the 2d of May. His editors^a have dated it on the 17th of that month; and Mr. Roscoe has ascribed the letter last inserted to June.^b It now seems more probable that the second letter^b was written in May, when Pope was freshly impressed with Atterbury's Defence, during the delivery of which he had been present;^c and that this letter, beginning "Once more," was written very shortly before the Bishop's departure, in the month of June. Like the first, it may be suspected of having received sundry touches and heightenings of expression, when, fourteen years after, and subsequently to Atterbury's death, its writer sent it to the press.

"May 2, [or June ?] 1723.

"Once more I write to you as I promis'd, and this once I fear will be the last! the Curtain will soon be drawn between my friend and me, and nothing left but to wish you a long good-night. May you enjoy a state of repose in this life, not unlike that Sleep of the soul which some have believ'd is to succeed it, where we lie utterly forgetful of that world from which we are gone, and ripening for that to which we are to go. If you retain any memory of the past, let it only image to you what has pleas'd you best; sometimes present a dream of an absent friend, or bring you back an agreeable conversation. But, upon the whole, I hope you will think less of the time past than of the future; as the former has been less kind to you than the latter infallibly will be. Do not envy the world your Studies;^d they will tend to the benefit of men against whom you

^a Warton's Pope, viii. 128, followed by Bowles and Roscoe. By Warburton it is dated May only: he following the edition of Pope's Works printed for T. Cooper, London, 1737.

^b Following the Atterbury Correspondence. This second letter was known only to Roscoe, and not to the previous editors of Pope's Works.

^c "I was there all the while." See the note before, in p. 13.

^d This, observed Bishop Newton, "was most excellent advice;" and "it is much to be lamented that this advice was no better followed, that such talents and faculties were no better employed, and that he was still dealing in politics, instead of writing some work of

can have no complaint, I mean of all Posterity: and perhaps at your time of life, nothing else is worth your care. What is every year of a wise man's life but a censure or critique on the past? Those whose date is the shortest, live long enough to laugh at one half of it: the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all. You may now begin to think your Manhood was too much a puerility; and you'll never suffer your Age to be but a second infancy. The toys and baubles of your childhood are hardly now more below you, than those toys of our riper and of our declining years, the drums and rattles of Ambition, and the dirt and bubbles of Avarice.

"At this time, when you are cut off from a little society, and made a citizen of the world at large, you should bend your talents not to serve a Party, or a few, but all Mankind. Your Genius should mount above that mist in which its participation and neighbourhood with earth long involved it. To shine abroad and to heaven, ought to be the business and the glory of your present situation. Remember it was at such a time that the greatest Lights of antiquity dazled and blazed the most, in their retreat, in their exile, or in their death. But why do I talk of dazling or blazing? it was then that they did good, that they gave light, and that they became Guides to mankind.

"Those aims alone are worthy of spirits truly great, and such I therefore hope will be yours. Resentment indeed may remain, perhaps cannot be quite extinguished in the noblest minds; but revenge never will harbour there. Higher principles than those of the first, and better principles than those of the latter, will infallibly influence men, whose thoughts and whose hearts are enlarged, and cause them to prefer the Whole to any part of mankind, especially to so small a part as one's single self.

"Believe me, my Lord, I look upon you as a Spirit enter'd into

genius and learning, of which he was very capable. He wrote only two or three little pieces, his *Essay on the Character of Iapis in Virgil*; his *Vindication of Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Smalridge, and himself from the charge of interpolating Lord Clarendon's History*; and little or nothing besides, but a few criticisms on some French authors."

another life, as one just upon the edge of Immortality; where the Passions and Affections must be much more exalted, and where you ought to despise all little Views, and all mean Retrospects. Nothing is worth your looking back; and therefore look forward, and make (as you can) the World look after you. But take care that it be not with Pity, but with Esteem and Admiration.

“I am with the greatest sincerity, and passion for your Fame as well as Happiness,—Your, &c.”

The continuance of Atterbury's affectionate regard towards Pope is strongly testified by a letter which he wrote from Montpelier, on the 20th Nov. 1729, soon after the death of his daughter, Mrs. Morice: “Yes, dear Sir, I have had all you designed for me; and have read all (as I read whatever you write) with esteem and pleasure. But your last letter,^a full of friendship and goodness, gave me such impressions of concern and tenderness as neither I can express, nor you, perhaps, with all the force of your imagination, fully conceive.

“I am not master,” &c. (See Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, i. 145.)

Pope was remembered by Atterbury in the last memoranda for his will,^b written in the same year, in the following terms: “I give to Mr. Pope any book he shall think fit to choose out of my small collection, to be preserved by him in memory of me.”

^a This letter does not appear to be extant.

^b Nichols's Atterbury Correspondence, vol. i. p. xii. Pope had formerly presented to the Bishop an edition of Homer, printed at Paris in 1554; and the Bishop's inscription in it is printed *ibid.* iii. 518.

NOTE.

The collection of Epistolary Correspondence and other miscellanies by Bishop Atterbury, edited by my grandfather Mr. John Nichols, was published at various periods, as the materials came to hand,—Volumes i. and ii. in 1783, Vol. iii. in 1784, Vol. iv. in 1787, and Vol. v. in 1798. The last volume (though often found in company with the preceding,) contains an Index which applies to the *Second Edition*, of which Vols. i. and ii. are dated 1789, and Vols. iii. and iv. 1790. These volumes were reprinted in the years they bear, but were not actually published until June 13, 1799, which is the date of the Advertisement prefixed to the first volume of this Second Edition. The fifth volume contains a Memoir of the Bishop, in which the scattered contents of the whole collection are reviewed in their chronological arrangement.

The originals of Atterbury's Letters edited by Mr. Nichols are now for the most part deposited in the British Museum. Those which were the origin and foundation of his work, namely the series relating to the last illness and death of the Bishop's daughter Mrs. Morice, had been purchased by Mr. Nichols at the sale of the library of Topham Beauclerk, Esq. in the year 1781. Mr. Nichols presented them to the national collection in the year 1786, and they are preserved, together with fourteen letters presented by Nathaniel Chauncy, Esq., in the Additional MSS. 5143, 5144. Atterbury's Letters to Bishop Trelawney, 140 in number, are in the MS. Addit. 5951: they came from the writer's grandson Francis Atterbury, D.D. Precentor of Cloyne and Rector of Clonmell, to Mr. Nichols, who presented them to the British Museum in 1806. Seven more letters of Atterbury (with one of Bishop Potter) were presented by the Rev. William Morice in 1815: they were at first placed in the MS. Addit. 6408, but were removed in 1849 to the volume 5144. The whole of these had been published by Mr. Nichols in the Atterbury Correspondence.

Another collection of thirty-nine Letters of Bishop Atterbury to his daughter Mrs. Morice and her husband, together with many others of the

bishop's manuscripts, which were preserved by his grandson the Rev. Henry Morice, M.A. Vicar of Ashwell, Herts, are now for sale in the hands of Messrs. Sotheran and Willis.

Among Cole's transcripts of the Correspondence of the Rev. John Strype the Ecclesiastical Historian, there are seven notes of Atterbury that have not been printed. (MS. Addit. 5853.)

It is, however, the Royal Library at Windsor Castle that contains those letters of Atterbury, the appearance of which at length placed beyond further dispute the actual course of his political intrigues. In the year 1847 the publication of "The Stuart Papers," preserved by the exiled royal family, and now in the possession of Her Majesty, was commenced with a volume of Letters of Bishop Atterbury, edited by John Hulbert Glover, Esq. F.S.A., Her Majesty's Librarian, who has two further volumes of Atterbury's Correspondence nearly ready for the press.

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